

PEACE NEWS

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NPC Conference on East-West Relations

'SEND THE ARMIES HOME'

—H. N. Brailsford's solution for peace-terms deadlock

THE complete withdrawal of all Allied armies to their home lands as a first move towards a peace settlement was advocated by Mr. H. N. Brailsford when he addressed the National Peace Council's Conference on the Soviet Union, the West and World Peace last Saturday.

The four-day conference, attended by 400 delegates representing sixty British national organisations, was

guided in a thorough investigation of East-West relations by speakers who shared the generally felt sense of urgency. The conference is being featured in the B.B.C.'s Russian language broadcasts.

Opening the discussion Mr. John Lawrence, former Press attaché in Moscow, stressed the part played by centuries-old divisions in the estrangement of Russia and the West. A religious Iron Curtain had hung across Europe in the Middle Ages; today, however, he thought one of the most hopeful factors was to be found in the very real growth of religion in the Soviet Union.

Professor Janko Lavrin, after warning of the danger of letting the gap between Russia and the West develop into an abyss, turned to Tolstoy for evidence that Russia had, even in the past, been communally minded to a far greater degree than the West and claimed that every true Russian socialist had within him a safeguard against mechanical totalitarianism from without.

The "Curtain States"

The value of the small "curtain states" as a link between East and West was emphasised. Their desire to avoid another war would, he thought, lead to a pacifist ideology, and because of their nationalistic curtailment they would concentrate on culture, and restore the balance of humanity so much needed in the world. Prague was undoubtedly the world's most dynamic city in cultural affairs today. The building of the Yugo-Slav "Youth" Railway had shown the possibility of international co-operation at a new level.

Professor Haldane and Lord Lindsay of Birker examined the different conceptions of democracy and freedom current in the West and East. It was almost impossible for Russians to understand British democracy with its Opposition paid to make the task of Government more difficult. A comparison was drawn, however, between the lack of interest shown in local government in Britain and the keen interest the average Russian took in his village and factory committees, where local grievances were aired.

No reason for fear

While it was agreed that there were profound differences over conceptions of democracy, there seemed no reason to fear the Soviet system. If we did fear that system and fear also that war would come in consequence, then there was every likelihood of that which was feared coming about. There was no sign that the Soviet Union contemplated military aggression. The expansion that had taken place was obviously for the purpose of defending the boundaries of the Union.

Professor Harold Laski, discussing British policy, said that we should not be afraid of being accused of appeasement, since nothing could be

more natural than for one Socialist government to break down the barriers which divided it from another. Unfortunately, he added, the Kremlin does not believe that the Labour Government will win the next election, but rather fears that Churchill will be once again leading Britain in an anti-Russian role based on his Fulton speech. British actions in Greece only confirm Russia in the belief that her diagnosis is correct.

"Now," concluded Professor Laski, "is the time to experiment in friendship."

Dealing with the impact of Germany on East-West relations, Mr. H. N. Brailsford told of the dread of war he found in every German heart during his recent four months stay in that country.

He felt that European peace could not be ensured for many years if Germany was divided. Rumours in Berlin suggested that the Russians were contemplating the same steps which had been argued in the U.S. by Walter Lippmann: that the Allies should make peace by withdrawing all armies—not only from Germany, but also from Greece, Palestine and Korea—to their national homes. Only by such a withdrawal, coupled by further aid for an anti-Nazi central government in Germany could the revival of Nazism be prevented and world peace be assured.

The final session of the conference was devoted to a study of the part individuals could play in improving Anglo-Soviet relations.

Mrs. Beatrice King, of the Society for Cultural Relations with Russia, stressed the need to challenge all statements about Russia "always being in the wrong, and Bevin and Co. infallibly right."

Improving relations

Many speakers pleaded for a more cautious examination of the many criticisms of Russia. There should be more readiness not only to go the second mile in dealing with that country, but also to complete the first.

From the floor of the Conference came several calls to strengthen the movement for peace in our own country. It was suggested that the NPC, having taken a lead in the task of improving Anglo-Soviet understanding, should endeavour to get the support it rightly deserved from all groups in the working class movements of this country; in addition, everything should be done to strengthen and encourage those who were working for peace in the U.S.

A unanimous declaration stressed the supreme importance of the peaceful development of a united Germany in which the economic basis of militarism and Nazism had been eliminated. It also urged the importance of securing the fullest possible trade exchange between Britain on the one hand and the USSR and the countries of Eastern and South Eastern Europe on the other; achieving the widest possible personal and group contacts between the peoples and called on the Governments concerned to give the necessary facilities and encouragement to the making of these contacts.

The Foreign Ministers' Conference

BY the time this is read the Four Foreign Ministers will have had their first meetings. By that time, too, they may have had their last and gone back to their several capitals. I cannot foresee what turns the wheel of fortune will take in the intervening period, but there are certain fundamental issues which can be examined no matter what decisions are arrived at when the Ministers meet.

What was the purpose of the meeting? To arrive at a political and economic settlement of Germany; to draw up a treaty with Austria; to discuss the American proposal for a long-term treaty of guarantee against German rearmament.

Those were the items which were to form the basis of the agenda, and in order to get the agenda prepared a junior staff was installed. Then for a week or more four men, normally

civil war. None of those manifestations have come about by accident or misfortune. They have been brought about by purpose and design.

No remorse

WHEN the conference in Moscow last March broke down it was hoped that the political climate would change to allow a resumed conference to take place under fairer conditions. Matters could not get worse, it was said, therefore they must either stay as they are or get better. But whatever happened the Soviet Government knew perfectly well that their position would not be materially altered come what may. There were, indeed, plenty of reasons for supposing that the worse the conditions became the better would be the outlook for Soviet Russia. The fact remained that not one word of genuine remorse was uttered by the Russian press and radio that the conference had completely broken down.

Can it be said that any constructive attempt has been made since last March to bring about better climatic conditions except by Mr. George Marshall, the American Secretary of State in putting forward his scheme for the reconstitution of economic life in Europe? No matter how cynical the friends of Russia become when the Marshall Plan is mentioned it still remains true that the plan was conceived in a spirit of altruism and quickly acted upon by all the western nations, and too quickly acted upon in the case of two of the more easterly ones.

Plan and plot

AS opposed to the Marshall Plan there is supposed to be a Molotov Plan which, if our observation is correct, is now coming to fruition. As distinct from Mr. George Marshall's scheme which was based upon a desire to construct, Mr. Molotov's scheme is founded upon the necessity to destroy or bedevil. Nowhere in any of Mr. Marshall's utterances can I find one reference to the desirability of breaking up the economic cohesion of the eastern European states. To my knowledge there has been no international conference, similar to that held in recent weeks in Poland, convened for the express purpose of exhorting political agents in all the capitals of Europe to make it their business, first and last, to prevent Yugoslavia from federating with Bul-

(CONTINUED ON PAGE SIX)

COMMENTARY by LLEWELLYN CHANTER

rational human beings quite able to conduct themselves with decorum in their private affairs, took leave of their senses and spoke pages to each other straight out of "Alice Through the Looking Glass."

The Times Diplomatic Correspondent, who usually maintains a poker face when commenting on international affairs, failed utterly to iron out the imbecilities from his report. If he had done he would have had nothing left to write about. He did draw the line, however, at telling his readers that one of the four diplomatic understrappers knocked a mirror over and smashed it thus adding an atmosphere of impending catastrophe to the pall of futility that overhung the proceedings.

By the week-end these deputies had achieved exactly nothing. No agenda was prepared because whichever way round one deputy wanted it the three others decided it would look better in the opposite direction. So they gave it up and waited for Tuesday to arrive in the hope that the principal players could come to an agreement where to put the stumps before the bowling started.

East and West

ASSUMING that the four principals will not be able to put up a better performance than their deputies—an assumption one feels entirely justified in making at the moment of writing—and the meetings end in deadlock, is one entitled to hold the opinion that their failure is catastrophic from the point of view of world peace? On balance I would say no to that question. The meeting of the Foreign Ministers, while designed primarily to seek certain specific ends, is, in actual fact, a final effort to discover whether the East and West can get on to better terms with each other and in that lies a great deal more than is immediately apparent.

International tension has now been pushed to a point at which war would seem to be the inevitable next step. It is not a fortuitous circumstance that democracy has almost made its last bow in Czechoslovakia, that politicians from the Eastern European countries are seeking sanctuary in the West if they are lucky enough to escape prison or the rope; that the two western "Cominform" countries, namely France and Italy, are in a state of disintegration bordering on



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INDUSTRIAL CONSCRIPTION

IF you countenance war, you countenance industrial conscription in time of war. It is now clear that if you countenance war, you countenance industrial conscription in time of peace as well. You cannot spend your blood and treasure, year after year, on the destruction of the Continent to which you belong, and get away without an economic crisis: and if destruction justifies industrial conscription, how much more so does reconstruction?

No great foresight was needed to point this out at the very beginning of the War. Yet when labour direction was introduced at that time, we were told it was a temporary measure, to be abandoned when hostilities were ended. If the authorities who told us that were sincere, it shows how short-sighted authorities can be. Whether they were sincere or insincere, we are entitled to demand good reasons for believing them this time, when they assure us yet again that labour direction is "temporary."

So far no such reasons have been forthcoming. There is no good reason for supposing that Britain can restore her pre-war standard of living, even at the price of a permanent export-drive; still less for supposing that this export-drive can be permanent. On the contrary, we know from experience that the moment the market is saturated, we shall be brought into head-on collision with foreign manufacturers, and the outcome of that can be one thing only—a still more violent economic crisis, if not war again.

How can this vicious circle be broken? By using our momentary recovery to build a fully socialised Britain, as part of a Socialist Europe? So the Socialists say: and just because the nationalisation of iron and steel is irrelevant to recovery itself, it is encouraging to see the Government proposing it—here is proof that they do look beyond tomorrow. But nationalisation is worth little if it only means a remoter and more powerful boss; and unless a better incentive than fear of unemployment is produced, socialism itself will involve industrial conscription.

Those who deplore industrial conscription, therefore, must not merely relieve their own feelings by impotent protests; they must relieve their country by exploring alternatives. They will find that there are two: a sense of responsibility towards society as whole, and a sense of vocation for the work itself.

These two, however, are practically inseparable. For responsibility towards society is a dream, unless the society in question is small enough to be immediately known, unless it is, in the real sense, a "community"; whilst those of us who have experience of "communities" know that even in them it is absent or weak, unless the members are fulfilled in their work. Moreover, if they are not so fulfilled, how can they ever relinquish that standard of living which depends upon export-drives and colonies? The question of vocation stands at the very centre of our social problem.

It was not for nothing that the Churches, in 1939, included among

A Berlin viewpoint

EAST AND WEST

by Heinz Kraschutki

I CAN imagine that people who have the privilege of living in Paraguay or Tasmania, when reading in the press about the tension between East and West, may lean back, yawning, and say: "I wonder what will come out of all this."

We, in Berlin, are not in a position to do so. When I go to my daily work, I pass through some streets where I see American soldiers, American sentinels, and then, a quarter of an hour later, I pass through some other streets with Russian soldiers, Russian sentinels. Here they are, both of them, and here they will remain for the next twenty years or more.

Whether we like the Russians and the Americans, whether we like the one and hate the other, or whether we hate them all, is of very little importance. Here they are, we have to live with them. To be on bad terms with the Occupation Powers would not pay.

But it is not sufficient to be on good terms with them. Should there be any serious trouble between themselves, it is here, in Berlin, where both worlds meet, where the first bombs, atomic and others, would rain. We should see the beginning, and not be interested in knowing where the finish might be fought out. Because we should not live to see it.

What can be done?

So, to work for smoothing down the tension between East and West is not only our ideal, it is our interest as well. But what can be done? Reports of international conferences at Lake Success and elsewhere are not reassuring. The diplomatic representatives of the Great Powers are busy thundering their accusations against the militarists of the other side. Maybe that all they say is true. Only, militarists are usually rather tough people. For them, the other is the enemy. Instead of repenting of their sins, they may be even satisfied that the other is so angry.

We, who are no diplomats and have to deal with ordinary people, should not lose our time in blaming the militarists of either side. They will not listen to us. I certainly do not

their Five Standards for a New World Order, "the restoration of a sense of divine vocation to man's daily work." Vocation means more than mere preference or choice; it really is something divine; it is one of those moral, as distinct from material, liberties for which, as Laurence Housman has said (PN, Oct. 31), a man "must fight to his last breath": and this fact will soon become evident, for there are those who will stand up for their vocations even at the risk of being directed into mail-bags.

But it is not only in the name of personality that industrial conscription will have to be resisted at some points; it will have to be resisted in the name of society itself. For only if Social Democracy means a society of producer co-operatives will it ever be able to dispense with industrial conscription; and only if the sense of vocation is preserved, will Social Democracy ever mean that. Asked in the House last week whether any provision had been made for conscientious objection to his Control of Engagements Order, Mr. Isaacs hesitated; he asked to be excused from entering into the question. But if industrial conscription is enforced without regard to this question, the death-knell of Social Democracy will have sounded.

The tragedy of our present situation is that vocation is hardly imagined, except in connection with the arts, and the "fine arts" at that. But if those who still know what it really means can give substantial proof that they are working for a New World Order, in which all men can share their fulfilment, their resistance to conscription will be justified; they may even turn the last act of the tragedy into the first of a comedy instead.

love those Americans who spend hundreds of millions of dollars in splitting up new atoms or for constructing new bombs. But I do love those Americans, far more numerous as they are, who send millions of food parcels to hungry Europeans. Why not better appeal to the many good people that do exist everywhere in the world, East and West, and make them stronger by our sympathy, instead of assuring the militarists that we don't like them?

Cultural progress

I think we have to learn a lot from the Americans. Not from all of them, perhaps, but from very many. I think we have also to learn a lot from the East. Let me quote one example.

Before 1918, several nations in the innermost parts of Asia, like the Calmucks, had been living as nomads, nearly as savages. Illiteracy was 100 per cent., their languages were only spoken, never written. Then, young Russians would penetrate into those regions, listen to how the people were speaking, fix up the languages in grammars and school books, build schools and begin to teach the young people. Now, illiteracy is nearly eliminated, a cultural progress unique in the history of the world. Now, should we not admire, should we not try to be friends with those Russians who did this splendid work, who did it silently with the outer world paying very little attention? Should we hate them, only because there are other Russians who believe in militarism?

I know that those Calmucks who thus could rise out of the deplorable state in which they had been are not yet perfect. Though they have learned to read and to write in a remarkably short time, moral education will take a longer period. Two or three generations perhaps. So it is a fact that soldiers from the East, when occupying Germany, did not always behave as perfect gentlemen. I should have been astonished if they had.

War does not educate

We pacifists, at least, should know that a long, terrific war is not the best means to educate men towards being kind and considerate. Besides, soldiers of other nations were not either perfect gentlemen when all was over. As for the behaviour of soldiers occupying foreign countries, I, being a German, should perhaps better drop the topic. . . .

But though I think that a steady, permanent appeal to the many good people in the world, East and West, will bring more results than blaming the bad ones, I fully realise that the task is difficult. Is that now a reason for not tackling it, or for delaying it? I think not. Maybe we shall not

GUY FAWKES

NOVEMBER 5 was not the end of the matter for Guy Fawkes. He still had to pay for his escapade and had begun to do so by the end of November. I hope therefore that you will not think a reference to Guy Fawkes out of date on November 28th.

On November 5 we planned a Guy Fawkes' Day procession. We had special posters prepared, on one side of which the question was asked—"Who is the Guy?"—the answer being given on the other side—"You, if you allow conscription." Special handbills were printed stating that Guy Fawkes wanted to destroy the House of Commons and that we wanted to destroy Conscription, setting out some of the reasons for this, and asking for help in the task.

Now we have to pay for the printing. If you could not come to help in the distribution of the handbills, you would no doubt like to help up to pay for them—if you are one of those who want to destroy Conscription.

MAUD ROWNTREE,
Treasurer.

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live to see the result of our efforts. Is that now a reason to do nothing?

We, of the white race, have a wrong conception of what Time means. We think an action is useless, when the result cannot be reaped tomorrow. Let us learn from the Indians, from the Chinese. They are accustomed to think in centuries.

The fruit of mistrust

Between the two wars we German pacifists knew that if the German rearmament, begun in secret the very day of the Armistice 1918, could not be stopped, Germany would plunge into another horrible war—and lose it. So we spent the best years of our lives in trying to stop what we saw was coming. It was in vain. The mistrust between East and West was already then so strong that the alliance that could have avoided the catastrophe was not achieved. It was in vain, but who of us would repent the effort made then? We are striving for a new mentality in the world, we know that this cannot be attained in a few months. No sincere effort made to this effect is quite in vain, it adds to the slow but steady change that is in progress.

And even if it should have been quite in vain, we have to act all the same. Remember that many, many soldiers went into this war, and died in it, fully convinced that it was all in vain. They simply obeyed.

We also obey—our conscience. It bids us fight for Peace, so we do it, without asking whether the result will be visible. We know that many others, in all countries, are doing the same. But we would do what we have to do, even if we were alone.

Those soldiers sacrificed their lives for a cause in which they did not believe. We do believe in our cause; should we do less than they did?

The highest authority we know in the world, the only one we recognise, is our conscience. Should we obey this, our conscience, less than those soldiers obeyed their sergeants?

Letters to the Editor

This slavery

MR. W. R. PAGE apparently relies, as most who have not studied the Control of Engagements Order, 1947, No. 2021 do, on the promises of the Minister of Labour as to what is going to happen when the Regulation is made actually operative through Employment Exchanges. He is a very simple-minded person who can believe, after our experiences on Military Conscription, that those promises will avail once the Regulation is sent to the officers of the exchanges to administer them.

This Order will freeze persons, especially in the distributive trades, to their present jobs unless, of course, they become redundant and unemployed. Should they fall into that category they will be directed; they will, of course, get the wages and conditions which apply to their new occupations, but those may well be below those which they enjoyed before they were directed. A man may be offered four different jobs in four different coal mines, and should he finally refuse the lot he will find himself in prison.

It would be well if those who agree

so readily to directing others would begin to think that they themselves might some day be directed to work in the fields or at the coal-face, and remain there until they reach 50 years of age. They may then realise what all this means.

Finally, Mr. Page will have it that "the Government is entitled to be certain that labour stays in the essential industries until the economic crisis is eased." Will he tell us when he thinks it will ease? Five, ten or twenty years? Some of us doubt it, after six years of the greatest destruction in history, it will not remain with us for a longer period than the duration of the War.

House of Commons,
London, S.W.1.

RHYS J. DAVIES.

No changing

I WOULD like to correct a statement by Bill Page in his recent letter when he maintained that movement from one firm to another within the trade is allowed under the new Order. This is only true of people normally employed in coalmining or agriculture. In all other cases permission from the Local Office of the Ministry of Labour is required to take up employment.

A. E. TOMLINSON.

34 Southwood Ave., Highgate, N.6.

I RENOUNCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER

This pledge, signed by each member, is the basis of the Peace Pledge Union. Send YOUR pledge to

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Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., W.C.1

KATHLEEN LONSDALE ON ATOMIC POWER

SHARING the feelings of those unable to get to the Caxton Hall on Monday evening, to hear Dr. Kathleen Lonsdale and Prof. Pryce speak on the theme, "No Atomic War!", I called on Kathleen Lonsdale last week in her study at University College, to put some of the questions I would have liked to ask at the meeting and give readers the benefit of her answers.

"How," I asked, "do you think that war can be averted? And what relevance, if any, has pacifism to that objective?"

"I don't think war in the immediate future is likely," she replied. "The immediate choice facing the people of this country is between making use of our supply of plutonium for turning atomic energy to industrial purposes, and storing it up for use in atomic bombs. If we decide to do the former, we shall be committed to a policy of neutrality, for no country without the atomic arm will be capable of fighting in the future; but if we decide to do the latter, we shall never be able to preserve neutrality even if we want to, since we shall be expected at any moment to join one belligerent or another."

"Do you think that British neutrality would serve in any way to prevent a Soviet-U.S. war?"

"I think if we not only proclaimed our intention of dispensing with the manufacture of atomic weapons, but invited the representatives of other countries to come and inspect our plant, it would certainly help to clear the air internationally."

SECURING PEACE

Kathleen Lonsdale believes, however, that world peace can only be secure when the two Great Powers submit to inspection and international control. "I feel sure the Russians would be willing to do so," she said, "if the Americans first destroyed their stock-pile. But to expect them to expose all their secrets, while the Americans hold on to their bombs, is ridiculous. Why should they trust the Americans to destroy them—later? I have spent some months in America lately, and I can see nothing there myself to inspire trust in American politics. Indeed, I would find it easier to trust the Russians who have at least an ideal."

"You favour the Gromyko Proposals, then?"

"I think they ought to have been, and still ought to be, taken far more seriously than they are."

"If the Russians had had a monopoly of the atomic bomb, and had made the Baruch offer to America, America would undoubtedly have rejected it."

"And supposing an inspectorate were established, and a subterranean atomic bomb plant discovered, say, in the Middle West—what should the next step, in your opinion, be?"

"That reminds me," she smiled, "of the old question we are always asked, 'What would you do if —?' It is no use looking too far ahead: let us be sure that our first step is right. After all, we have got to begin trusting some time."

I asked what steps you and I could take to secure these ends. The most important thing, she felt, was to rouse people from their inertia.

"Everyone is so apathetic," she exclaimed, "they feel that they can do nothing about it. But they can. I always cite the effect which the outcry over dried eggs had on the Government a year ago—by writing to MPs and so on, the public really is able to influence the Government. I think meetings could be staged in connection with the Atomic Train, at present touring the country, from which resolutions could be sent to the Government demanding that atomic energy be used only for industrial purposes. They would not be without effect, for all the evidence suggests that our Cabinet has not yet made up its mind on this issue."

"I wish," Kathleen Lonsdale added, "that Peace News confined itself to presenting an objective view of the world-situation, such as no other paper, except perhaps the Manchester Guardian, tries to do. By mingling your news with propaganda for pacifism, you tend to put people off it."

"You would agree with me, I take it, that pacifism as such is hardly relevant to the problem of preventing war?"

"Yes. Mind you, I think Dick Sheppard was right to try and get such a large number of signatories to the Pledge that Britain's participation in war would be impossible: but nobody stayed out of the war simply because he had promised to; and most of those who promised to did so only in the hope of preventing war, and therefore had no reason for keeping to their promise once the war had begun. The PPU can serve a valuable purpose by supporting and linking together COs who would otherwise be even more isolated—that's all."

MEANS AND END

I thought there might be great value in an association of people determined, in the present situation, to defy the doctrine that any means is justified by the end, and Kathleen Lonsdale granted the possibility. But her main concern is the prevention of war, and her hopes are centred upon the Atomic Scientists' Association.

So far, she pointed out, this Association has been concerned simply with keeping the public informed of the implications of atomic energy, so that whatever decisions are taken will not be taken in total ignorance. But the Scientists themselves might yet reach a consensus of opinion on the best policy to be pursued by this country, and their authority would carry weight, not only with the people but the politicians. For "clear-thinking minorities do more to make policies than multitudes."

I had no time to ask her more questions—but some of you will, on Monday at 8 o'clock, and I recommend you not to miss the chance.

F. A. LEA.

Challenge to Pacifism

III. MEANS AND ENDS

A. J. MUSTE concludes his article which was inspired by reading "Neither Victims Nor Executioners" by Albert Camus in the July-August issue of the magazine *Politics*, and the Paris Letter by H. J. Kaplan in the September-October issue of *Parisian Review* entitled "A Minor Scandal in Paris."

THE most important issue before the world, then, is not that of Communism versus capitalism, nationalism versus internationalism, Russia versus the United States. It is violence versus non-violence. The question before us as pacifists is how we can bring that truth home to our fellows and how we can work most effectively for the triumph of non-violence.

And here I want to comment on the nature of pacifism and its basis; and again to make use of the articles to which I am so greatly indebted. What they make clear is that the political problems before our age cannot be solved on the merely political level, unless first we get to the deeper level of the human, the ethical, the spiritual. Men have to know themselves as men, not animals or mechanisms, and as such they have to make moral decisions. It is perverse, contrary to the nature of things, to set up an end and then use the means, whatever they may prove to be, to attain that end. Men in any such programme become less than men. They become tools. But since human beings cannot really be mere tools, they are dehumanized; they experience moral disintegration. We must begin with men, morally responsible beings made for fellowship. The human society, the brotherhood, is both means and end and will shape, more accurately grow into, its end. Pacifism, in other words, is a spirit, a way of life or to use Camus' Gallic phrase "a style of life."

The dignity of man

First comes the assertion of moral autonomy and the dignity of man, the moral decision not to conform, not to "go along," but instead to resist, to fall out of line. To resist, as Camus puts it, "international dictatorship; to resist on a world scale; and to resist by means which are not in contradiction with the end we seek."

The great political problem of our time, says Kaplan, "is not to demonstrate the malignant disorder of capitalism, but to face up to the question: what comes next?" And the answer begins, he contends "by refusing to function in the world's system of servitudes. By refusing the circles of power and subjection." And later:

"The sanction Rousset keeps seeking, for certain types of behaviour, and which the Communists find in an indefinitely distant and treacherous future—is not the future, the last refuge of the scoundrel?—can only be found by perverting our conception of man himself. That this conception is historically determined is interesting, but in the end cela ne tire pas a consequence. We live in our history, not above it, and we finally choose between drinking our armagnac or throwing it into someone's face."

Conformity

In that last phrase he is referring to an incident described in his article which it is not necessary to recount. The point again is the issue between conformity, "going along," drinking wine with a heel, or refusing to conform, asserting human dignity, regardless of the consequences and even though one acts alone.

There are those who question whether this so-called individual pacifism is relevant any more. First of all, in the basic spiritual sense, in a world of conformism and terror, nothing is more important than that the individual should at least not go along, should be an individual. Since it is so utterly important that men should understand, should see this, it may be worth while to take a moment to quote at some length one of the nobler utterances of Sartre, the Existentialist. He is talking about the men of the Resistance and the torture they endured and how senseless it seemed not to yield, not to "go

along," not to give the information the torturers sought. But the resisters who did not give in

"broke the circle of Evil and reaffirmed the human, for themselves, for us, even for their torturers... Everything conspired to discourage them: so many signs around them, these faces bent over, this pain within them, all joined to make them believe that they were only insects, that man was the impossible dream of roaches and bugs and that they would awake as vermin, like everybody else."

"Man was something they had to invent with their martyred flesh, with their hunted thoughts which were already betraying them: beginning from nothing, for nothing, in absolute gratuitousness; for it is within the human that one can distinguish means and ends, values, preferences, but they were still at the stage of the world's creation and they had only to decide sovereignly whether, within it, there would be something more than the reign of the animal. They refused to talk, and man was born of their silence."

Free association

The counterpart to the assertion of the individual against dictatorship and regimentation, to the moral decision made before God alone, in the depths of the spirit, is the association of man with his brothers in freedom. It is the same human essence in man which expressed itself in the negative and in the positive form—in non-violent but definitive non-submission to, non-co-operation with, dictatorship and deceit, and also in the persistent assertion and practice of fellowship and community; in drawing the line against all the devices of oppression by whomever fashioned and in refusing to draw the line against any human beings.

To turn to Camus once more, he speaks of

"the needs of an era which has found no philosophical justification for that thirst for fraternity which today burns in Western man. There is no idea, naturally, of constructing a new ideology, but rather of discovering a style of life."

"Let us suppose that certain individuals resolve that they will consistently oppose to power the force of example; to authority, exhortation; to insult, friendly reasoning; to trickery, simple honour. Let us suppose they refuse all the advantages of present-day society and accept only the duties and obligations which bind them to other men. Let us suppose they devote themselves to orienting education, the press and public opinion toward the principles outlined here. Then I say that such men would be acting not as Utopians but as honest realists. They would be preparing the future and at the same time knocking down a few of the walls which imprison us today. If realism be the art of taking into account both the present and the future, of gaining the most while sacrificing the least, then who can fail to see the positively dazzling realism of such behaviour?"

H. J. Kaplan closes his article by quoting a line from a poem by a friend: "We shall raise insurmountable barricades around the places possessed by love."

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CENTRAL DEPOTS

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BIG APPEAL MEETING

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 3rd
KINGSWAY HALL
Kingsway, 7 p.m.

Speakers:

H. N. BRAILSFORD
MISS LETTICE JOWITT
RT. HON. H. GRAHAM WHITE
R. R. STOKES, M.P.

Chairman:

VICTOR GOLLANCZ

Reserved Tickets 1s. each from

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15 James Street, W.C.2

(Some free seats)

THE RISE OF CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM

Maurice To Temple: A Century of the Social Movement in the Church of England, by Maurice B. Reckitt. Faber & Faber, 16s.

THIS book tells the story of the rise of "Christian Socialism" from the time when F. D. Maurice, the movement's founder, was sacked for his social teaching, to the time when William Temple, its most recent leader, became Archbishop of Canterbury.

The story is one neither of success nor of failure, but of a struggle which is still in progress. Its theme is the gradual awakening of one branch of the Christian Church to its responsibility for claiming not only heaven, but also earth as the kingdom of Christ.

Before the birth of this movement about a century ago, the Church of England had allowed its gospel to shrink to the dimensions dictated by the expanding industrial system around it. It was necessary to the free functioning of *laissez faire* capitalism that the religious and business spheres should be held apart. And so when F. D. Maurice and his followers applied Christian principles to economic affairs they discovered a mental blindness in the Church, which has taken nearly a century for its cure.

A hundred years ago the issue was a straightforward one of achieving the elements of social justice for all. But Maurice lived long enough to see the problem become deeper and more complex. He saw that eventually the struggle would have to be carried through on two fronts, against both 'the unsocial Christian and the un-Christian socialist.'

Today the emergence of highly organised and centralised states, and the harnessing of atomic energy have combined to set the "social problem" in a yet wider context. For now Christian sociology must deal with the structure not only of the national, but also of the world community.

Is such a Christian sociology—principles of social life arising out of the Christian revelation—possible? A century ago Anglicanism implicitly denied it. The Church's only answer to the faults and injustices of society was assumed to be the infusion of a "Christian spirit" into the existing social order. But the rise of the movement depicted in Mr. Reckitt's book was the growth of the realisation that this was a mere evasion, and that the Christian spirit could not be used to lubricate an intrinsically un-Christian economy, but was rather a force which, once released, would inevitably disrupt the present system and create a new one.

In spite of a century's efforts, the work of Christian sociological thinking is still a pioneering activity on the vital frontier between the Church and the world which it exists to save. To this work Mr. Reckitt's book is a valuable historical introduction. Written with an equipment of wide knowledge and competent scholarship which is the author's servant and not his master, it makes pleasing as well as profitable study. The reader's path is constantly lighted by vivid phrases and luminous similes, and his spirit refreshed by gusts of Chestertonian humour. To the specialist in the history of Anglicanism these lectures will come as an important contribution to his subject, and to the general reader as a stirring reminder of the Churches' task.

J.H.

This year's

CHRISTMAS PAMPHLET

is on new lines

Specially designed as an illustrated folder, it is suitable for passing on. It speaks of the necessity for peace and is called

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Subscribers to PN pamphlets will automatically receive a copy. Others can obtain a sample for 4d. Limited supplies are available for 4s. a doz. (post free), including envelopes from

PEACE NEWS, 3, BLACKSTOCK RD., N.4



Vision of Hell

Your World Tomorrow, by Prof. A. M. Low. Hutchinson, 16s.

IF the Applied Scientists have a High Command, one imagines that it will order the immediate shooting of Professor Low, without trial. Slowly, sometimes almost imperceptibly, they have been taking over control of affairs, changing old habits and customs, arousing a minimum of organised opposition, when along comes the Professor and exposes the whole of their plans. So loudly and persistently does the wretched bird cackle that surely even the dullest will take a look at the clutch of eggs it has laid. And one look ought to be enough.

World television is to enable us "to look-in at the explorer stalking a tiger" in the jungle (tigers? jungles?—in this push-button world?), or to play a game of cards with friends in four different continents, as if all were in the same room. Presumably, this ingenious little device will also enable us to be watched, minute by minute, in our water-closets or marriage-beds, and it will be a god-send to the Secret Police.

Cars will go a hundred miles per hour on "scientifically constructed roads from which all pedestrians... are eliminated." (But some, one hopes, will be nimble enough to skip into the ditch first).

The colourless, complacent voice informs us about cabbages weighing a hundredweight, completely new types

of animal, artificially bred, and "farms that will not be... picturesque... (but) buildings which are virtually living accommodation, office and factory."

Houses? "The advantages of prefabrication are so obvious that opposition can only be based on misconception or financial interest." War? Scruples against gas or bacteriological warfare are just "foolish." "It may seem ludicrous to suggest that children will be conditioned from their earliest days to live and work in gas masks." But don't worry—"every new weapon represents a technical advance that can have its application for peaceful purposes."

And so on, and so on. "Work is doing something we do not want to do in someone else's time." God does not appear in the picture; the author is an emancipated man who cannot be hampered by primitive superstitions of that nature.

Of course, from one point of view, the whole thing is a grand source of rich, belly-aching laughter. But, from another there is no joke about it. It is hard to imagine any good reason why human beings should want to exist in such a world, and probably none will. Meanwhile, we have been warned. In his flat-footed way, the Professor shows us the sights. All over the place the alarm bells ought to be ringing by now.

JOHN WARD.

A WRITER'S WARNING

On Becoming a Writer, by Vera Brittain. Hutchinson, 10s. 6d.

IT is a little embarrassing for one in the "slowly becoming" class to have to review a work on "becoming" by one who has "become." Out of humility one might be tempted to betray one's own honesty, or, being painfully conscious of a four-years-old son careering round the room and moaning like a cow in calf, launch into an excited approbation of Miss Brittain's insistence on a writer being able to devote himself wholly to his work, undisturbed, and to champion the £500-a-year-and-a-room-of-one's-own cause, which Virginia Woolf considered an essential.

But in all honesty I can see little excuse for this book, except the one ingeniously implied in the blurb, i.e., the publishers know there are sufficient mugs who believe they can gain a fortune from the pen to ensure a steady sale. Not even Hazlitt expected an author to do more than write "well or ill" and certainly not be bound "to make a fortune at all." Well, Miss Brittain does a good job in disillusioning. We know the chances of making a fortune are pretty remote, but it's comforting to read that her first two novels made for her only £16.

What else can "On Becoming a

Writer" do? It can give practical tips on how to submit MSS, information about literary prizes, and general notes on the business of writing. Miss Brittain, herself, admits that the most books on authorship can do is "confront the beginner with the inescapable realities of his career at an early stage, and thus help him to avoid or overcome those elementary errors of knowledge and behaviour which absorb time and energy that could be spent constructively on learning his craft."

In other words, the writer will go on writing anyway. Books on authorship are as little use as correspondence schools (I can't understand why Miss Brittain should think them useful.) But Miss Brittain easily wanders from the professed intention of her book into autobiographical reminiscence, and this is what redeems it. For the picture it gives of Vera Brittain it is valuable. For its sandwich fillings of stories of her own literary life, it is sheer delight. The young writer who finds pleasure in its pages will find, too, this apt text for the "becoming" from Plotinus: "If a man desires the good life except for itself, it is not the good life that he desires."

HARDIMAN SCOTT.

BELGIAN MEN OF LETTERS

FOR those who can read French, here is a little book about a pacifist written by a pacifist. It is a "Homage to Georges Eekhoudt,"* Antwerp-born humanitarian writer, by Hem Day, WRI Council Member for Belgium. Although Eekhoudt is no doubt somewhat better known in literary circles across the Channel than his biographer, nevertheless, the latter is closer to English pacifists (many of whom, like myself, are personally acquainted with him), than the former.

One might say: very kindred spirits. Eekhoudt, who died in 1927, was a protestant against the slaughter of 1914-18, and suffered for his stand. He was a rebel—a lover of humanity, especially down-and-out humanity and "les hors-la-loi," and an inveter-

ate enemy of bourgeois hypocrisy and politics. Hem Day, too, has felt the slings and arrows that are directed against conscientious objectors, and no-one who has experience of his kindly tolerance and simple philosophy can accuse him of bitterness against his fellow-beings.

Georges Eekhoudt lived among, understood and depicted the Flemish with his pen, as did the inimitable Breugel with his brush. Hem Day hails from a different part of Belgium, and frequents the Brussels boulevards. He writes of international celebrities—of Einstein, Francisco Ferrer, Han Ryner, Cervantes and Bart De Ligt. I see a vision of someone in the next generation compiling a "Homage to Hem Day." And ending it in the same way that Monsieur Day finishes off his effusion on Eekhoudt—"Saluons... un Citoyen de l'Humanité." A.G.B.

*Editions "Pensee et Action," Brussels. 36 francs.

THE ONLY APPROACH

Soviet Jewry, Palestine and the West, by Walter Zander. Victor Gollancz, 6s.

WITH the Jewish problem so acute today, Mr. Zander's book is of particular interest in that it tries to be unbiased and earnestly searches for a solution of this vexed question which would do justice to all concerned. He traces the rise of Jewish nationalism (Zionism), analyses emigration, its causes and consequences, and throws some interesting light on the comparatively unknown developments of Jewish life in Soviet Russia.

He comes to the conclusion that Russia has so far attempted to give the most constructive answer to the Jewish question because she allowed complete assimilation and integration within the new social and economic life. At the same time those Jews who desired it had every opportunity to support their own schools, language, etc. All this led—as in the case of professing Christians—to a decline in religious worship. Though initially many Jews were actively hostile to Communism—like their Gentile fellow-men—they eventually abandoned that struggle.

One important point Mr. Zander makes is the re-distribution of Eastern European Jewry due to Hitler's mass murders and the expansion of the Soviet state. This leaves scarcely any Jews in Eastern Europe—apart from those in the USSR—and should therefore result in a stoppage of emigration to Palestine or the West, apart from a trickle (plus the displaced persons). Russian Jews (or Gentiles) are, of course, forbidden to leave the country.

In spite of the integration of the Jews in Soviet life the author believes in a Jewish religious revival there going hand in hand with the revival of Christianity, of which many instances are given in the book and which the Soviet Government appears to be unable or unwilling to suppress.

Regarding Palestine, Mr. Zander suggests that it is up to the Jews to "win the Arab's heart" and thinks that it may not yet be too late. "We (Jews) must remain conscious of the fact that we owe him (the Arab) a debt." This seems the right and only approach, and Mr. Zander feels that Arab sympathy can be won if there is less insistence on Jewish "rights" and more talk about obligations to the Arabs.

Whilst saying that the Jewish claim for unrestricted immigration must be recognised as just, the author suggests a Federation of Arab states (including Palestine) to allay Arab fears of Jewish domination.

In a chapter, "Repercussions on the West," he discusses the "double character" of the Jewish problem—Zionism on one side and non-Zionists on the other, and whilst acknowledging the distinct difference between Western Jews and Zionists, he believes that a certain change of attitude on the part of the former—largely due to renewed persecution and the growth of nationalism everywhere—can be discerned. "Western Jews do not look any longer to Palestine merely as a haven."

The book was completed before the Palestine problem was brought before the United Nations but has lost none of its topicality and can be recommended to anyone wishing to read a fair account of a vital question. It would be interesting to know whether the author would see a first, dim light of hope—not only for the Jews but for mankind as a whole—in the agreement reached by America and Russia on this issue.

K. H. FARNHAM.

NO ATOMIC WAR!

PUBLIC MEETING

organised by the Peace Pledge Union

CAXTON HALL, S.W.1

(near St. James's Park Underground Station)

Monday, DEC. 1 at 7 p.m.

Speakers:

Professor M. H. L. PRYCE

Dr. KATHLEEN LONSDALE

NATION-WIDE EFFORTS FOR WINTER RELIEF

"THE final result of our BBC Appeal on Sept. 21," reports Save Europe Now, "is now known. £8,660 6s. 3d. has been received, and has already been distributed among the sections benefiting from the Fund. Since last July the Friends Relief Service has received £10,500 from this fund, German Educational Reconstruction, £1,600, the Ecumenical Refugee Commission, £1,784, and our own supplies fund, £2,000.

"We are now completing our annual circularisation and already more than £8,000 has come in. We have recently received from the Manchester and Salford Famine Relief Committee a cheque for more than £400, raised partly from appeals in the Manchester Guardian but partly (£50 17s. 5d.) from a Prisoner of War Concert on Oct. 13, which was a great success. The hall was packed and many people had to be turned away. The Worthing Famine Relief Committee also organised a concert at which Irene Scharrer gave a Chopin recital. This was even more successful and £151 14s. 0d. was the final result.

CROYDON'S TOTAL

"The Croydon Save Europe Now Committee has sent us since May 1 (partly as a result of their recent Week) 10,555 garments, 676 boots and shoes, and more than 1½ cwt. of food.

"Large supplies have come in recently from Edinburgh (Society of Friends), Mansfield, Worthing, Shrewsbury, Manchester and many other places. The Birkenhead Churches Committee have sent a further 2½ cwt. of food and nearly 1½ cwt. of clothing to Kiel; the Merseyside Committee a considerable quantity to a parish in the Russian Zone, apart from that they send for general relief. Streatham UNA has also sent a lot of food and clothing to Einbeck, near Hannover, and to a pastor in Hamburg.

"Churches have been sending food, clothing or money, and sometimes all three. One hundred and twenty three different consignments of food and clothing have been shipped by us to Roman Catholic churches and schools in Germany from churches in this country since the early summer.

NEW EFFORTS

"We are now planning a Save Europe Now London Week, from Nov. 30 to Dec. 7. Temporary depots are being set up all over the London area for food, clothing and books. The addresses will be published on posters and in local newspapers. All churches are being circularised and a big Appeal Meeting will be held at the Kingsway Hall, on Dec. 3, at which the speakers will be H. N. Brailsford (who has recently spent four months in Germany), Miss Lettice Jowitt (lately General Secretary of the Friends Relief Service), R. R. Stokes, M.P., and the Right Hon. H. Graham

* Save Europe Now 14, Henrietta Street, London, W.C.2.

White. Victor Gollancz will be in the Chair.

"Similar meetings are planned in Shrewsbury, Guildford, Liverpool, Manchester, Ealing and Bromley. Miss Vera Brittain, who has also returned from a visit to Germany will be speaking in Shrewsbury, Liverpool and Manchester.

"We have had two special appeals recently. The first is just a repetition of an old one—for babies clothing and nappies, but it emphasises the growing need and anything that can be done locally to increase the amount coming in, not only of clothing, but also of old sheeting and towels for nappies, will be a great help. The second appeal is for men's clothing. Near Hannover there is a big transit camp for returning prisoners of war through which all repatriated prisoners have to pass. Large numbers of prisoners from Russia are now arriving every week and they are nearly all in desperate need of clothing. The supplies available are totally inadequate and frequently prisoners returning from this country hand over extra clothing they have to those who are so much worse off. A recent gift of 400 dyed Battle Dress blouses promised us will be sent to this camp, but much more is needed.

"Many people think uniforms may not be sent and do not know that we can get them dyed. This makes it possible for Committees to open special appeals for old uniforms, as well as civilian suits, and to approach ex-Service organisations such as the British Legion. Home Guard uniforms and battle dresses are particularly valuable. We have been sent a number of photographs of these prisoners which illustrate only too well the need.

CHRISTMAS GIFTS

"The campaign for special Christmas relief parcels for children is being opened with a Press Appeal. Copies will be available for local circularisation or local newspapers. Parcels may contain chocolate and sweets, other rationed foods and a greetings card. They must conform to the Ministry of Food regulations, not more than 7 lbs. with wrapping, not more than 2 lbs. of any one item of food. These regulations will not allow toys to be included. Committees, however, running special Christmas collections for bulk shipments may appeal for toys, clothing, books and educational equipment as well, as they can be separately packed to observe the Board of Trade rules, and to satisfy Customs and Excise.

"Huddersfield District Committee for Famine Relief have persuaded two large local firms to display Christmas trees on which gifts may be placed."

PALESTINE PARTITION THREATENS WAR

Jewish C.O.s face severe trial

THE following letter has been received by the WRI from Nathan Chofshi on behalf of the Palestine Group:—

"We feel that we are perhaps at the eve of some warlike event or of an Arab-Jewish war. The decision of the United Nations, more or less favourable to the Jews, and the object of the Partition, will be answered by the Arab Nationalists with threats of war. All efforts for a peaceful solution by means of mutual understanding on a bi-national basis have been rejected by Jewish and Arab extremists. We are powerless against them, although even today we continue our work of enlightenment in small circles. Dr. Magnes has even dared in these stirring times to publish an excellent article in the New York Times of Sept. 28—a last appeal against partition, and for a bi-national Palestine. Agitation against Dr. Magnes was very great amongst the Jews, whilst amongst the Arabs one can hardly express to-day any free, independent opinion, as the opposition would act without mercy with knives, revolvers and bombs!

"In the meantime there is the im-

minent evacuation of Palestine by the English Army. With the Arab troops at the borders, the Jews are making preparations for defence. The empty space which suddenly appears through the British evacuation creates a dangerous position, and greatly favours the possibility of an outbreak of war."

An appeal to UNO

The Chairman of the WRI has accordingly despatched the following appeal to the Secretary General of UNO (Lake Success, Long Island, USA), which he hopes will be backed up by other pacifist organisations:—

Dear Sir,

The Jewish-Arab conflict—Palestine.

The War Resisters' International representing fifty-six affiliated Sections in thirty different countries of the world and individual contacts in eighty-four countries, expresses its grave concern at the probable consequence of the plan for the partition of Palestine now being discussed by the United Nations. In view of the present attitude of the majority of both Jews and Arabs, such a policy seems likely to lead to war between the two peoples with results which can only be harmful to both, and may seriously endanger the peace of the world.

The despatch of armed forces under the authority of the United Nations, to enforce its decision and prevent the outbreak of war will be no final solution. The mutual hostility of the two peoples is likely to be aggravated by such action and its violent expression merely deferred.

We are convinced that the only satisfactory solution to this very complex problem lies in the mutual reconciliation and co-operation of the two peoples in a bi-national State carrying equal rights and liberties to the members of both communities. We urge therefore that even if such a solution seems at the present moment to be impracticable, that the steps taken now shall not be such as to preclude such an eventual realisation. Whatever authority or authorities are responsible for Palestine in the forthcoming months they should be instructed to take all possible steps to further understanding and co-operation between the Jewish and Arab peoples.

On behalf of The War Resisters' International.
(Signed) H. Runham Brown Chairman.

Our young friends in Palestine are facing a very severe trial—namely, refusal to obey the order for Jewish mobilisation. In this difficult time, we want them to feel the strength of the solidarity and fellowship which comes from the Movement throughout the world.

Skin deep brotherhood

PETER FRASER, N.Z. Prime Minister, is reported as saying at Canberra Peace Talks: "We want the Indian and Pakistan delegates to feel that we are all here as brothers." Yet since 1920, no Indians or Chinese (except a few close relatives of those already here) have been allowed to settle in N.Z. The colour bar is absolute, though not expressed in any statute. Only British citizens of wholly European race may enter N.Z. without a permit. In practice, Americans of wholly European race enter as freely as British citizens. Permits for other Europeans especially refugees, have been meagre, and coloured people nil. Permits are at absolute discretion of Minister of Customs; the advent of a Labour Government in 1935 brought no change in policy or practice.

Publications received

Germany Revisited, by Victor Gollancz, 9d., thrusts home the moral of Mr. Wellock's conclusions. It is an account which hardly bears reading, but must, all the more, be read. Here is the harvest of industrial power and export drives. Here too, is the "Christian Charity" which the war leaders said would be shown to a surrendered Germany. Accustomed though we are now to horror, this booklet can touch us anew.

Alone in the Midst is a little book which would appeal to many pacifists. In the form of a happily written story, it describes work which can be done amidst the deaf-blind, a path-

etically helpless fragment of mankind too easily overlooked by us all. It is obtainable for 1s. 6d. from the Deaf-Blind Helpers' League, 40 Green Rd., Hall Green, Birmingham, whose funds it assists.

It was a good idea to make a collection of Pacifist articles, condensed in the popular American fashion. For The Gist, issued by the FoR, contributions have been taken from many ages and countries of mankind—Peace News itself has been under levy for a number of précis essays—and the result is very readable and instructive. It costs 25 cents, from 21 Colidge Hill Rd., Cambridge, Mass. P. T. G.

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

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When corresponding with PN about an advertisement, quote its first words, classification, and date.

We reserve the right to hold over advertisements and to limit the frequency of continuing advertisements.

MEETINGS, &c.

CENTRAL LONDON Group, 8 Endsleigh Gdns., W.C.1. 7.30 p.m. Dec. 5, Social evening at 1 Endsleigh St., by kind invitation of Maud Rowntree. Music and Bring and Buy. Dec. 12, the Rev. Patrick Figgis. Dec. 19, Embassy Theatre to see "Where Stars Walk" (tickets N.S. Billson, 33 Compton Rd., N.1., 3s. 6d.). All welcomed.

FRANCESCA WILSON opens Bazaar for International Voluntary Service for Peace on Dec. 6, 3 p.m., at 29 Pelham Place—South Kensington Tube.

KINGSWAY HALL, W.C.2. Wed., Dec. 3, Lunch-hr. mtg. (1.15-2.15). K. Ziliacus, M.P., "The USSR and the West" Admission free. National Peace Council, 144 Southampton Row, W.C.1.

LONDON, W.C.1. 8 Endsleigh Gdns. Discussion lectures every Sunday. 7.30 p.m. Nov. 30: "Survey of the German Situation." John Olday. London Anarchist Group.

NORTH LONDON Region. Tottenham Friends Meeting House, 549 High Rd. (next Burgess' Stores), N.17. Sat., Dec. 6, 4 p.m. Christmas Social and Re-union. Dr. Alex Wood, Patrick Figgis, Gwyneth Anderson. Bring and Buy Sale, Sideshows, Childrens' Entertainment, Grand Christmas Concert, North London Players, Refreshments, etc., etc. Programme from Harry Mister, c/o Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4.

SHEFFIELD PPU. Heeley Friends Adult School, Prospect Rd., Sat., Dec. 6, 3 p.m. Christmas Fair.

TOTTENHAM, N.17. Friends Meeting House, 594 High Rd. Dec. 4, 7.30 p.m. Speaker: Kathleen Lonsdale, FCS, FRG, D.Sc., Member of Atomic Scientists Assocn.

BIRMINGHAM PPU Christmas Party at Dick Sheppard House, Sat., Dec. 6 3 p.m. Father Christmas, Conjuror, Music, Games, Pooled Tea.

WEIGH HOUSE CHURCH, Duke St., W.1. Bond St. Tube. "The Gospel of Peace" Sun. evenings at 8.30. Social hr. follows.

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PHYSIO-THERAPIST urgently requires residence on or near South Coast. Box 809.

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EDUCATIONAL

FOREIGN MINISTERS Conference. Have you sent "Terms and Conditions of the Peace Settlement with Germany" to all local leaders of opinion? Copies price 6d. from Friends' Peace Ctee., Friends House, Euston Rd., N.W.1.

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MISCELLANEOUS

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A WORD to the ailing. Do not despair. Start today. Send for two 20-page booklets of encouraging life-conserving information about Garlic, which comes nearer to a universal remedy than anything given by Nature for the use of man. Send stamps 5d. to Allysol Company, Fairlight, Sussex.

Danger in appeasing Russia

COMMENTARY CONTINUED

garia or Poland from helping out Czechoslovakia.

Yet the West has had calmly to contemplate such an eastern European convention at which Mr. Zhdanov's language was nothing if not immoderate. "The USSR will make every effort to prevent the Marshall Plan being realised," said Mr. Zhdanov as categorically as that. If the "friends of Russia" doubt my quotation let them refer to the authorised translation of the Russian delegate's address. Those were the orders given in Warsaw and those are precisely the orders being carried out today. Which is preferable, I would ask, the methods of Communism or those of "American Big Business"? It is as well to remember a small fact which has only recently come to light, that when the sixteen nations met in Paris to draw up an assessment of their profits and losses despite the vilification that was being heaped upon the author of the Marshall Plan, upon the Plan itself and upon those participating in it, the delegates of those nations were, by secret means, trying to assess the needs of their eastern brethren in the belief that one day they, too, would become bene-

ficiaries. That fact impresses me as I hope it will impress those not so kindly disposed towards Mr. Marshall.

Price of appeasement

WHEN the Ministers are pursuing their negotiations then, the one question which will constantly confront the three Western representatives will be "To what extent should we go on appeasing Russia?" We know her price will be very high. It always has been. We began to pay part of the price by recognising the dictatorship in Yugoslavia, and then finding that we had to protest against the consequences of that dictatorship. Then we paid a little more on account by recognising the Communist administration in Poland and then finding that we had to afford sanctuary to Mr. Mikolajczyk. Are we to appease Russia at the expense of Germany? There are those who say without hesitation that Germany should be restored to German rule as speedily as possible. I am among those, but I do not shut my eyes to the very obvious fact that Russia, which has a very great interest in the future of Germany, as well as in its importance politically and strategically, has well prepared plans for taking over control of that country immediately Britain, France and America relinquish their interest. Until the day arrives when we can be completely assured that there will be no outside influence used by way of foreign-trained political agents and so-called "Free German" armies we must be on our guard.

Germany, and more particularly the western zones, are an integral part of the Marshall Plan as a whole. To allow Germany to slip into the hands of those who abhor the whole conception of the Plan would mean the abrogation of the Plan itself. The nations of the west would then in all truth, have to rely upon the beneficence of America simply because they would be completely incapacitated from organising their own economy on a sound basis.

In point of fact the issue at the Foreign Ministers' conference lies between buying Russian friendship on a sliding scale of charges (to which we are not privy), or the recovery of Western Europe. The former I believe, offers us a short relief from the present international tension—about the length of time, I would say, that was afforded by the presentation to Hitler of the Sudetenland. The latter is the long way home and the less attractive. It is the only one, I am convinced, which would afford any hope to the peoples of Western Europe, to say nothing about those of Eastern Europe who dare not voice their opinions.

COMMUNITY SCHOOL IS JULIANA'S CHOICE

A SIDELIGHT on Princess Juliana's outlook is revealed by her reaction to the problem of her children's education. Instead of sending the young princesses to a conventional school for the rich, Holland's new Regent entered them in the progressive school at Bilthoven run by Kees Bouke, a skilled educator noted for his hatred of war and authoritarianism.

When the subject of the princesses' matriculation was first broached to the school, the faculty were pleased, but felt that certain things must be made clear. "Our main building for the accommodation of students was ruined during the war," they told the Royal mother, "and the only provisions we can offer are of the most frugal sort." To which Juliana replied in effect: "Don't let that worry you at all. I want my children to live simply, like most others in the present-day world."

Once more, there was still a question in the minds of the teaching staff. They told Juliana: "In our school every child without exception is expected to perform a share of the menial work involved in a co-operative community life." Answered Juliana: "That's exactly what I want for my children." As a result, the school's prestige has shot up — and so has Juliana's.

—Worldover Press.

"We have learnt of friends who want to stop war"

PoW's NEWCASTLE CONCERT

AT the invitation of the Newcastle-on-Tyne War Resisters' Group, the orchestra and choir of the Darras Hall PoW Camp gave a programme of German music and folk-songs to a highly appreciative audience at Newcastle-on-Tyne on Nov. 22.

John Morley, Chairman of the Group, welcomed the visitors, and hoped that their experience during the war and as prisoners had shown

them the absolute futility of attempting to achieve anything by means of war. Emphasising the inhumanity of war, and its demoralising effect upon the people of the world, he pointed out that members of the victorious side were suffering morally an even greater degradation than the vanquished.

John Morley said: "I have a sense of shame that the British Government has the inhumanity to have kept you here so long after the conclusion of hostilities. I have some fellow-feeling with you, as I know the irksomeness of imprisonment through personal experience. I know how frustrated a man can feel whose liberty is curtailed."

The highlights of the concert were the delightful Schubert songs interpreted with feeling by Max Schindler, tenor, who infused the colour of life and love into Schubert's words; and the fine singing of German folk-songs by the choir. Mention should be made of Guido Rauch, who arranged the programme, and showed his musicianship in his conducting of the choir and orchestra. Humorous sketches and recitations contributed by PPU members and friends seemed to go down well.

Alfred Reczkowsky, on behalf of the PoWs, said how glad they were to be there, and to get to know British people and form friendships. To prevent the destruction of civilisation by further war, we must create friendship all over the world. He ended by saying, "When we go home next year, we shall know that we have found here in England friends, and have learnt of friends in other countries who want to stop war and bring right relationships between people."

FAMILY SERVICE UNITS

THE inaugural public meeting of Manchester and Salford Family Service Unit was held in the Manchester Town Hall on Tuesday, Nov. 18. An attendance of 200 heard an address by the Rt. Hon. Lord Balfour of Burleigh, in which he described how he became interested in the work of the Pacifist Service Units. The Lord Mayor of Manchester presided, and the Mayor of Salford also attended.

"A film that is refreshing in its moral courage and pacifist assertion of human dignity." This was Richard Winnington's summing up, in the News Chronicle, of "Monsieur Verdoux," Chaplin's new film.

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TEN YEARS AGO

From Peace News, November 27, 1937.

The award of the 1937 Nobel Peace Prize to Lord Cecil of Chelwood is a recognition of his many years' work on behalf of the "peace through the League" ideal.

Lord Cecil is the only British Minister to have resigned office because he considered the Government was betraying the League.

Comment from the following in the Daily Telegraph, Nov. 22 is unnecessary. Leghorn, Sunday.

A large destroyer, the Taschent, built for the Russian Government in the Orland Odero Dorni shipyard near here, was launched at a private ceremony this morning.

The vessel flew an Italian flag, and was blessed by a Catholic priest.—Reuter.